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QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY
AT KINGSTON

KINGSTON ONTARIO CANADA

A
S E R M O N

Preached before the

House of LORDS,

IN THE

Abbey-Church of *Westminster*,

On MONDAY, *Jan. 30. 1737.*

Being the Day appointed to be observed as the Day
of the Martyrdom of King CHARLES I.

By *MARTIN* Lord Bishop of *Glocester.*

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. and J. PEMBERTON, at the *Golden Buck*
against *St. Dunstan's Church* in *Fleetstreet.*

M D C C X X X V I I I .

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NOV 23 1737
Die Martis 31^o Januarii, 1737.

ORdered by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled, That the Thanks of this House be, and are hereby given to the Lord Bishop of *Glocester*, for the Sermon by him preached before this House yesterday in the Abby-Church *Westminster*; and that he be desired to cause the same to be printed and published.

W^m COWPER,
Cler. Parliamentor.

PSAL. LXXVIII. 5, 6, 7, 8.

---He commanded our Fathers, that they should make them known to their Children.

That the Generation to come might know them, even the Children which should be born, who should arise and declare them to their Children :

That they might set their hope in God, and not forget the works of God, but keep his Commandments :

And might not be as their Fathers, a stubborn and rebellious Generation, a Generation that set not their heart aright.

THESE words point out to us the propriety and usefulness of commemorating and considering the signal Mercies or Judgments, which have in the course of Providence been dispensed to any Nation. And they justify particularly the Wisdom of this Nation, in having appointed the Observance of certain Days, in order to call upon the People to make due reflections on the Great Events for which they were remarkable.

Water Field 10 Nov 1780
10/1/50

But *this Wisdom is not justified of all.*

Some there are, and not a few, of opinion, that the Three Annual Commemorations of this sort, which the Law of the Land hath enjoined to be observed, might more usefully be omitted than continued.—But, if these persons will but calmly consider the reason of their first appointment, they may perhaps become sensible of the reasonableness of their continuance, or at least allow that some good may proceed from it.

The first of these Days, the 5th of *November*; was set apart, to put us in mind of the Evil and Danger of Popery and Tyranny, from both which at different times we have been wonderfully delivered on that day; and of the benefits and blessings of a True Religion and Legal Government, which by the same Mercy of Providence have been established and preserved among us.

And, as we are by this means cautioned against Superstition and Bigotry, Tyranny and absolute Power, on the one hand: So the Anniversary which we are now assembled to observe, was intended to guard us against the contrary extreme, of Fanaticism and Enthusiasm, of Lawlessness and Licentiousness. For both extremes center in one and the same Point, both end in producing the same Disorder and Misery in the World. If there be any difference, the latter seems to produce the greater Evils of the two.

And lastly, to make us fully sensible of the Happiness we enjoy under a Limited Monarchy and Episcopal Protestant Church: As this second Anniversary was instituted to remind us, that the Destruction of *These*, far from being a Benefit, as some

Persons once fondly imagined, will always be the greatest Curse to this Nation, as the whole People afterwards by experience found: So the third, the 29th of *May*, was designed to shew us, that if ever we should again lose this inestimable Blessing, nothing could make us easy and happy, but the Restoration of it to us.

These then are so many *Land-marks* set up, so many *Lights* hung out, to caution all succeeding Ages to steer in such manner, as to keep at a distance from those Rocks, which must otherwise inevitably dash them to pieces, and to instruct them from the Examples and Experience of former Times, what their present Conduct ought to be.

These are the grand and principal *Points* in which the People of this Nation are concern'd, and which they principally and perpetually want to be admonished of. And therefore for admonition to them, it was ordained by the Legislature, that these Publick Commemorations, so well suited to this Purpose, should be solemnly and perpetually observed: *To teach the Children of the Generations to come, that Posterity may know them, and the Children which are yet unborn: To the intent that when they come up, they may shew their Children the same.*

But of all these Anniversaries, there is none concerning the Propriety and Usefulness, of which there has been so much Dispute, as *That* we are this Day observing.

Some there are who think it not only very expedient, but almost absolutely necessary, that it should be strictly and for ever observed: Others judge it not only expedient, but necessary, that the Observance of it should be laid aside. *These* think, that

the

the Continuance of it only tends to keep alive and foment Disputes and Animofities, which would otherwise foon die and be forgotten. *Thofe* are of opinion, that the fame evil Principles which produced formerly this fatal Tragedy, not only would foon arife, were the Commemoration of it to be dropped; but that they are ftill fubfifting, and that it is neceffary therefore to have the Obfervance of this Faft continued, purpofely to mark and difcountenance thofe who favour them: As *Aaron's Rod* was ordered to be laid up in the Sanctuary, *for a token againft future Rebels.*

Numb. xvii.
10.

Some of the former there are, who in this whole Proceeding throw all the blame entirely upon the King, and think what the People did to be fo far from blameable as to be even meritorious. And many of the latter lay the whole Load upon the People, think them to be blamed and the King to be juftified in every Part of their refpective Conduct.

Thus are Men led by their Paflions and Prejudices, inftead of their Reafon and Judgment. And fo long as they will act and judge, not from an impartial Regard to the Truth of the Cafe, but from a Spirit of Oppofition to one another, they muft neceffarily run into great Errors and Extremes. And till they can divest themfelves of their prepofteffions, it will be impoffible for them to fee things as they are, and confider of them as they deferve. Let us then endeavour to do this: to lay afide Party and Prejudice; and think of the Faft before us, with that Attention which the Importance of it requires; and that Serioufnefs and Love of Truth which are fuitable to the Place we are in.

And

And let us *first* of all consider, wherein the true Crime, the real Obliquity, of the Fact which we this Day deplore, consisted :

And *secondly*, what right Use we may make of reflecting upon the wrong Behaviour of our Ancestors ; what profitable Instruction, from reviewing what is past, we may be able to lay up for the regulating our own Conduct for the future.

This is a Behaviour better becoming pious Christians and peaceable Subjects upon this Day, when we are called upon by the Laws of our Land to observe it in a religious and dutiful manner, than only to find fault with what is ordered, and calumniate that which the Legislature hath thought fit to command. Those who can find so many bad Effects proceeding from the Observance of this Day, and are so highly offended at the ill Uses made of it, will undoubtedly be extremely glad to find out any good ones, and will endeavour to improve them to the utmost : they will be pleased to have any way pointed out, by which the present Memorial may be render'd useful, either to themselves or others. And perhaps they may at last discover, that while they have been wholly taken up in looking out for inconveniences and faults, they have overlooked the Uses and Advantages, which might arise from a right and religious Observance of this Day.

How long it shall continue to be observed, this is a Matter which must be left to the Wisdom of that Authority which at first appointed it. But in the mean time it certainly becomes every private Person, to pay it that regard which the Laws of his Country require, and make the best Use he can
of

of the Subject which he is directed to turn his Thoughts to.

If then upon this Anniversary he applies himself to lament the Sins of the Nation in general, and his own in particular; he may find employment enough for the Day, without spending any part of it in justifying what was done by others formerly, or censuring what is enjoined him at present. But perhaps, when he proceeds farther, to consider the particular Crime which he is called upon this Day to deplore, he may find sufficient Matter in that also, to exercise his Thoughts; Matter for Humiliation in regard to what is past, and of Instruction in regard to what is to come: Provided he considers it with calmness and impartiality. And let us in this manner now consider, wherein the true Crime and real Obliquity of the Actions, which are the Subject of our present Humiliation, consisted.

And here to say, that Kings have a right to treat their Subjects as they please, and that Subjects have no right of Self-defence, would be to assert what is false in itself and might be fatal in its consequences. The Truth is, that each have their respective Rights, their respective Powers, and Duties. And *These* in this Kingdom and Form of Government, are by Laws distinctly assigned to each of them. The King is to govern, and the People are to obey, according to the Laws of the Land, which are equally a Rule to Both. And when Either transgresses this Rule, they depart from their Duty and become guilty of a Crime. When therefore, in the Times we are now to consider, the King claimed a Power of levying Money by
his

his Own sole Command, of imprisoning Persons, and especially Members of either House of Parliament, by his Own Authority, He claimed what He had no right to. And the People therefore had a right to deny and oppose so unwarrantable a Demand, so dangerous a Precedent. And those who did oppose it, were to be esteemed worthy Patriots, and not to be accounted Rebels.

When the King on the other Hand gave up such Demands, and disclaimed such an Authority; when he returned to the Bounds of his Prerogative, and the People refused to return to the Bounds of their Duty; when it was evident they were aiming, not to keep their Sovereign within the Limits of his Power, but to assume a licentious Power to themselves and over Him: Then was the Crime in the People and not their Prince; then were they guilty of Rebellion, in resisting their lawful Sovereign ruling according to Law over them, and of Persecution, in every Thing they made Him suffer for adhering to the just Rights of his Crown.

That the Ministers of the King were for straining his Prerogative too far, in order to serve their own and not their Master's Interests, was but too true. Nay it must be owned, that the Judges, the Ministers of Publick Justice in the Land, pronounced in his Favour, That to be the Law of it, which was contrary to it. And it cannot be denied, that some of those, whose Profession it was to be Ministers of the Gospel of Truth, did, to serve Worldly ends and purposes, preach up a Doctrine of their own framing, as the Doctrine of Christ; that it was unlawful for any Subjects to oppose their Princes, upon any Occasion or Account what-

foever. Thus was the King not only provoked by the unreasonable Perverseness of one part of his Subjects, but deluded by the Officioufness and seeming Zeal of another part, to assume a Power which he had no right to.

They who defend the Behaviour of that Party which opposed the King, are apt in their Declamations to be very severe upon Court Flatterers. And no one can say any Thing to vindicate them. It is but too common, for Princes to aim at, and Parasites to attribute to them more than they ought. But while this is observed, it must not be forgotten, that the People as well as Princes have their Parasites also; who compliment them likewise with Powers not belonging to them, and who hope to advance themselves and their Fortunes as much by unreasonably opposing their Superiors, as others by complying with them.

But to return. If the Encroachments on the Part of the King were such as the Subjects had great Reason to complain of, the Concessions on the Part of the King were as many as the Subjects could desire; and more, not only than it was necessary, but than it was fit for the King to make. He gave but too great a Proof of his Desire to do every Thing to satisfy even the most dissatisfied and unreasonable of his Subjects, when he gave his Assent to the Act for continuing the Parliament, as long as it should please the Parliament itself to be continued. And it is to be observed, that this Assent was not by force extorted from him, but freely given at the beginning of the Troubles, and before any unfortunate Success can be said to have reduced him to the necessity of such a compliance.

But

But whatever Compliances he at any time made, were all interpreted to proceed from some wrong Motive, and none allowed to be sincerely intended. And every surmise of his Adversaries not only then was, but now is by some People, looked on to be a plain Certainty; while Facts themselves, on the other hand, are not admitted to be of the least weight. How severely has the King been charged with an *Intention* of breach of Promise? But how many Promises, how many Oaths did his Opposers *actually* break? And yet all this on that Side is to pass for nothing. What repeated Protestations did they make of their tender Regard for the King and his Royal Dignity? How solemnly did they swear, when they took the solemn League and Covenant, *that they would with their Lives and Estates preserve and defend the King's Majesty's Person and Authority, that the World might bear witness, with their Consciences, of their Loyalty, and that they had no Thoughts or Intention to diminish his Majesty's just Power and Greatness?* How solemnly did those to whom the King did surrender Himself for Security promise, that they would defend him against all his Enemies: and how did they immediately deliver Him up to the most irreconcilable of them?

Notwithstanding all this, a Notion has been taken up by some, as if it were uncharitable and even unchristian, to brand any of the Regicides with Infamy. But surely some Degree of just Censure may be permitted on Occasion of a Fact, to which it is allowed that there is not in all History an entire Parallel. There have been many who have conspired secretly, or rebelled openly against their

Princes. In the Fury of an Insurrection, in the Heat of a Battel, it may often have happen'd that rebellious Subjects may have slain their lawful Sovereign. By secret Poison or sudden Assassination several Kings have fallen. But no Miscreants before these, ever thought of erecting themselves by their own Authority into a High Court of Justice, and placing their Sovereign at the Bar of it. These Wretches proceeded in cold Blood, after long Thought and Prayer too, to perpetrate the blackest Wickedness in the most solemn Forms they could contrive; and with unexampled Hypocrisy arraigned the King as an arbitrary Prince, subverting the Fundamental Laws of the Nation: When at the very Time of their doing so, they were acting not only without any Law, but against the whole Authority of the whole Constitution. For even were we to carry the Power of the Representative Body of the People, as far as its most zealous Asserters can possibly carry it; were we to suppose there were a right in them of trying their Sovereign and even punishing Him with Death: Yet those who committed this Fact, were confessedly such, as could pretend to no sort of Right whatsoever, putting the Matter upon any Scheme or Foot whatsoever. They were neither the Parliament, nor Commissioned by the Parliament, but an armed Rabble, *not the Representative of the tenth Part of the People*, as the Act for observing this Fast remarks. The Majority of the House of Commons, the true Representative Body of the People, had, with the Concurrence of the House of Lords, voted the King's Concessions satisfactory and a ground of Peace. These Men therefore were

Traitors

Traitors to their Country as well as their King, were Rebels to the Parliament as well as the Crown.

But, together with their Civil Conduct, their Behaviour in Ecclesiastical Matters must be considered also, in order to give a full view of what I proposed to shew under this head, wherein their Wickedness and Guilt consisted. Now, as under pretence of redressing Grievances in the State, the Laws of the Kingdom were overturned by them: so under pretence of reforming Religion, every thing that was decent and orderly in the Church was by violence abolished. And while they were committing Extravagancies and Enormities, which a moral Heathen would have startled at, their cry still was, that the Religion Established was not pure enough for them. Their Consciences were so tender and scrupulous, as not to be able to suffer even some indifferent things in the exterior of Religion: and at the same time without any scruple they broke thro' all the *weightiest Matters, of Justice, Mercy, and Faith.* Matth. xxiii. I do not say that they had no reason to complain of some oppressive acts of some Churchmen. They had, it is too certain, but too much. But what shews their Iniquity in a peculiarly strong Light is, that while they were loudly exclaiming against the Power of the Established Church, they established a Tyranny ten times greater, even in the Opinion of the Enemies of the Church, than the greatest which themselves had charged it with.

When the Prelacy Worship and Discipline of the Church of *England* was abolished, and the Presbyterian Scheme exalted in its place: How did those who had been so bitterly inveighing against the Persecutions

secutions of the Episcopal Party, behave towards them and towards others who differ'd from them? Did they so much as tolerate the Worship of the Church of *England*? Nay, they not only persecuted all Churchmen, whom they looked on as their professed Enemies, but the Independents, whom they before had stiled their holy Friends and dear Brethren. And the Independents themselves called *the Presbyterian Government Antichristian, Lordly, Cruel, a worse Bondage than under Prelates.* And they called their *Assembly, Antichristian, Romish, Bloody.* Though Episcopal Government had been held to be Antichristian, yet the whole new Form of the Presbyterian was immediately declared to be *Jure Divino.*

How much soever they have cried out against it since, the Presbyterians were then very ready to invoke the Assistance of the secular Arm; and applied *not only for having their own Form of Ecclesiastical Government established, but no other tolerated, and for the Restraint even of all Private Assemblies.* The Parliament called in all the *Common Prayer Books, and imposed a Fine on those Ministers who should read any other Form than that contained in the Directory.* The *Common Prayer* was forbid to be used not only in publick, but in any private Family or Place, under Penalty of 5*l.* for the first Offence, 10*l.* the second, the third a Year's Imprisonment. There was farther, a *Declaration of the House of Commons against all who should write or say any thing in derogation of the New Established Church Government.* And still farther, an Act of their Parliament, *Impowering the Council of State to regulate the Mystery of Printing.* And thus they had

Edwards's
Gangr. Part
III. Pag. 221,
and 230.

Neal's Hist.
Vol. III. Pag.
299.

Neal's Hist.
Vol. III. Pag.
157, and 284.

Page 365.

Passed Jan. 7.
1652.

had an opportunity of shewing, how real their regard was then, for what is at other times a favourite Topick with them, *the Liberty of the Press*. Nay, there was an Ordinance, *That all who should willingly maintain, publish or defend, by preaching or writing, certain Heresies contrary to the Doctrines of the then Established Church, should be adjudged Felons; and upon Complaint or Proof by the Oaths of two Witnesses before two Justices of the Peace, be committed to Prison, and in case they should not abjure them, suffer Death: And in case they should abjure them, should find security for their future Behaviour. If they should relapse, they should suffer Death as before.* It is scarcely credible, that such should be the Behaviour of a Set of Men, even immediately upon their first exaltation to Power, the Employment of whose Lives had been, while they were out of it, to exclaim against the Antichristian Tyranny of the Church of *England*: and that themselves should rival the Cruelty of the *Romish Church*, even in the most cruel part of it, the *Inquisition*. *Liberty of Conscience*, which they had been so highly extolling, when they were undermost, as soon as they were got uppermost, is cried down and represented to be *the Root of all Evil, the Ruin of all Religion*.* And what hath been lately demanded as a *Natural Right, a Capacity of serving in all State Employments*, was then looked upon by themselves in a quite contrary Light, and *no Layman whatsoever was capable of any Office, Civil or Military,*
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Passed May 2.
1648.

* *Vid. Edwards's* Gangr. and other Writings. Harmonious Content of the *Lancashire* Ministers, 1648. *Cawdery's* Independency a great Schism, 1657. *Baxt.* Non. Conf. Plea, Pref. and his Self-Den. Ep. Mon. and his Ch. Div. and other Writings.

whatsoever, who did not qualify himself by taking the Covenant. †

Thus then at length all the pretended Reformation both of Church and State ended in the Destruction of Both; and at the same time of all Liberty, Civil and Religious. For, instead of the Grievances, part of them imaginary ones, which these Men had so much complained of under the Government of their lawful Prince, the worst Tyranny was introduced that ever this Nation felt; not of one, but of many Tyrants, and some of them the lowest and worst of the People. Then were those Prophecies verified in our Land. *The People shall be oppressed every one by another, and every one by his neighbour. The child shall behave himself proudly against the ancient, and the base against the honourable. Behold, the Lord maketh the earth waste, and turneth it upside down. And it shall be, as with the people so with the priest, as with the servant so with his master, as with the maid so with her mistress, as with the buyer so with the seller, as with the lender so with the borrower! The Land shall be utterly spoiled, because the Lord hath spoken the word. The earth is defiled under the inhabitants thereof, because they have transgressed the laws, changed the ordinance, broken the everlasting covenant.*

This State of Things was too disorderly and preposterous to last long: and it naturally ushered in another species of Tyranny, that of a Single Man, who having raised himself from a low rank in life only by the pretence of pulling down arbitrary power, as soon as ever he was exalted, exercised a more arbitrary Power himself, than any of our lawful

ful Princes had ever attempted to do. It had been charged upon the King, as the greatest breach of the Liberties of the People, that he went into the House of Commons to demand the Persons of some of the Members: Whereas the Usurper afterwards by force of arms turned all the Members out of that House, treating them and all their Privileges with the utmost contempt. And when it pleased him to call a new house of Commons, in the very Writs he named the Members, whom he appointed to serve for every County and Borough. And this was the *Free Parliament*, which declared him Protector.*

After the Death of this Tyrant, an Anarchy wilder than ever again ensued. Not only every one grew weary of the Changes almost every day introduced; but those who loved Change the most, had quite tired their Invention in projecting Changes. One of the Parties concerned in producing this Confusion, the *Anabaptists*, have given us a remarkable Description of it, in their Address to the King, then in exile; which the Noble Historian of this Day hath taken care to preserve: † There they declare, *That when they consider'd the many Changings, Turnings and Overturnings of Governors and Governments, which in these Revolutions of a few Years had been produced in this Land of Miracles, they were swallowed up in astonishment: And acknowledge, that their many Follies and Imprudences had not been the least means of giving birth and growth to those many Miseries which these Three once most flourishing Kingdoms did at that time most sadly groan under. They confess, that they had been rolling up and down, this way and that way,*

**Vid. Clarend. Hist. Vol. III. Book 14.*

†*Vid. Clarend. Hist. Vol. III. Book 15.*

through the uncouth and untrodden Paths of Fanatick and Enthusiastick Notions, till at last, but too late, they found themselves intricated in so many Windings, Labyrinths and Mæanders of Knavery, that nothing but a divine Clue from Heaven could be able to extricate them. They acknowledge, that they had added the greatest Hypocrisy to their other Sins, and in the midst of their Abominations, too bad to be named among the worst of Heathens, had not wanted the impudence to say, *Let Jesus Christ be exalted, let his Kingdom be advanced, let the Gospel be propagated.* And they lament the Fruits of their Folly and Wickedness in these words, *We have sown Faction, and we have reaped Confusion: When we looked for Liberty, behold, Slavery: When we expected Righteousness, behold, Oppression!*

During this Confusion, there were very near approaches made towards that happy State, which some Men are so earnestly wishing now to see, when there was no Religion at all established. Then was that favourite Expedient in good measure tried, which they so much want to have another and a full trial of.

Of all this Confusion both in Religion and State, which happen'd in the Nation, God was made the Author: Every thing these Wretches did, was still *the Lord's doing.* And thus it came to be said of them, with the same Insult and Scorn, as it was by the Heathen, of the degenerate *Israelites*; --- *These are the people of the Lord.*

Zeal against Popery was one of the chief Professions which these Men made. And yet notwithstanding their double Zeal against it, they have certainly been the most useful Tools for the
advan-

advancement of it, which the Popes have ever employed. And that in acting this Tragedy, they were, without knowing it, employed by the Pope, is the Excuse in extenuation of this Wickedness, which their own Friends have pleaded for them. But without question they gave the deepest Wound to Protestantism which it has ever received, and the Scar of which must for ever remain. So far indeed as it can be done, the Observance of this Fast takes away the Reproach, which otherwise both our Country and Religion must have lain under, on account of the horrid Facts which these Wretches committed. And this was one great Reason, and surely not an inconsiderable one, of its Institution. For thus the Act itself declares: *Because by this Murther the Protestant Religion has received the greatest Wound and Reproach, and the People of England the most insupportable Shame and Infamy, that it was possible for the Enemies of God and this Kingdom to bring upon us; while the Fanatick Rage of a few Miscreants, who were as far from being true Protestants, as they were from being true Subjects, stands imputed by Adversaries to the whole Nation: We therefore, the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, do hereby renounce, abominate and protest against that impious Murther and most unparallel'd Treason. And for the better vindication of ourselves to Posterity, and as a lasting Monument of our otherwise inexpressible Detestation of this villanous and abominable Faët, We desire that the Anniversary of this Day may for ever be observed as a Fast.*

But at the same time that I repeat the words of this Act, I would have it remember'd, That care has been also taken, by the appointment of another

Anniversary to shew, that it is as much the Sense of the Legislature, that tyrannical Encroachments of Princes ought to be opposed, as that the extravagant Licentiousness of the People ought to be restrained.

It was not therefore merely the Resisting of a King, in which the Iniquity we this Day bewail consisted. But it was resisting him when Resistance was not necessary: it was adding to this Injustice that of his barbarous Murther: it was taking away the Lives and Properties of multitudes of their innocent Fellow-Subjects: and destroying with the King the Constitution and Kingdom itself: in which consisted the Iniquity we this Day profess our abhorrence of.

This was the Case and Fact at that time. And this was not the Case and Fact at the Revolution. Though the Patrons of the opposite Extremes, with respect to Government, would yet unite in representing it to be so: As both think it may be turned to serve the unreasonable Position they are for advancing. Those who are for the Despotick Power of Kings, assert that King *James II.* was as unlawfully resisted afterwards, as King *Charles I.* had been deprived of his Crown and Life before. Those who are of Antimonarchick Principles, have been desirous to maintain, That the Beheading of *K. Charles* was as lawful, as the Opposition made to *K. James*; and that both were to be justified upon the same Principles and by the same Reasons only. It is very apparent however, that there was a great, the greatest, Difference, between the two Cases: Indeed there was no other Similitude, than that a remarkable Change of Government both times happen'd. The
one

one was from good to bad, the other the reverse: The Consequence of the one was the ruining; of the other, the preserving the Constitution: of the one, the good, of the other, the evil Effects do we at this day feel. In the one all was Confusion Disorder and Rapine: in the other, every thing was conducted with the greatest Calmness, and all the Proceedings were just and regular. The Means made use of on this latter Occasion were lawful and good, like the End proposed to be accomplished by them. But of a very different nature were those, which effected the Evil we are now assembled to express our detestation of. It was not an armed Force, an illegal Power, But the Two Houses of Parliament, the Representative Body of the Nation, which decided and settled every thing at the Revolution. This was a Change carried on by the Members of the Established Church, while too many of the Dissenters from it were employed in courting and receiving Favours from the Popish Power. But those Sons of Violence, who acted the Tragedy of this Day, had destroyed the Parliament, and Church also, before they proceeded to destroy their Sovereign. In the one of these Transactions, there was unexampled Barbarity and Cruelty: The other was so conducted, as scarce to have the Blood of a single Person shed in this Nation. In short, the one will be the eternal Honour as well as Advantage, and the other the Scandal and Reproach of this Nation. One of these Facts hath been of the greatest service to Tyranny and Superstition in the World. For Men having seen to what lengths those Persons went, who professed to set themselves up on purpose to pull
down

down both; and that they really introduced much greater Evils, than those they pretended to remove: It was impossible to prevent their laying hold on this, as an Argument against all Attempts whatsoever, to restore the Rights or reform the Religion of any People. The other, on the contrary, the Revolution, hath helped to answer this Objection. It has shewed that there may be Zeal without Enthusiasm, and Reformation without Destruction: that a Nation may proceed in these difficult and arduous Affairs, with all that Wisdom and Calmness, which is necessary to conduct them rightly and conclude them happily. And on that Account, this Event may prove of as great service to Religion and Mankind in general, as it has done to this Church and Kingdom in particular.

But I very willingly leave making Reflections upon the Behaviour of others, to proceed to what is of more Importance, an Application to ourselves: That we may amend and avoid in our own Behaviour, whatever we have remarked to be wrong in the Conduct of those who have gone before us.

And who can have looked back upon the Confusion and Misery, which Enthusiasm and Licentiousness occasioned in this Land, and not determine with himself to be exceedingly cautious, not to be deluded and drawn aside by either of them? For when once he is drawn aside, how far he may go he knows not.

Those who are Enemies to Monarchy may here view the Mischiefs, which Anarchy wrought in these Kingdoms; and learn to be as much on their Guard

against the Licentiousness of a People, as the Tyranny of a King. They may very plainly see, that the Licentiousness of those who are to be governed, can as fully and effectually destroy Liberty, as the Encroachments of those who govern.

Princes, on the other hand, and those who are in Power under them, may be cautioned from beholding this fatal Tragedy, never to attempt to stretch that Power beyond its due Bounds.

Those who are Enemies to the Established Church, may see the Effects which the destroying of it produced; and learn to respect it more, when they contemplate the Confusion and Oppression which another Form of Worship occasioned in the Nation. And those who are Friends to it may see, that all violent Methods and extravagant Claims, must prove of great disservice to it. But more particularly Those who are in Authority in the Church, may from the Occurrences of those Times be instructed, never to carry that Authority farther than its just Limits; and never to aim at any more Power, than by the Word of God and Laws of the Realm they are plainly invested with.

Again: While we lament the Misfortunes of former Times, we cannot but be led to rejoice over the Felicity of our own; who live under a King, who has as tender a regard for every Right of his Subjects, as he can have for any Prerogative of his own Crown. We must indeed bewail the Loss of a Queen, with whom his Majesty and his People were blessed, not of a different Religion, nor in a different Interest from those of this Country; which was the great Unhappiness both of the Prince and the People, in the Reign we have been looking back to:

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But united as much in Affection to the Nation, as She was to his Majesty Himself. We have this consolation however left, that Both of Them, instead of suffering any wrong Notions of Power to be infused into their Royal Offspring, (which had been again another great Misfortune of the Prince and Times, which are the subject of this Days Commemoration :) They Both, I say, have taken so great care to instill the same right Maxims into a numerous Posterity; that, if we look forward from our own to future Times, we may have a pleasing Prospect, that our own Posterity shall, if our own Licentiousness does not prevent it, be free and happy.

And as there is no Oppression in the State, so is there none in the Church, even for those at this time who wish and want to be complaining, to be able to complain of.

Upon the Whole then let us recollect, That We of this Nation, have had experience of all sorts of Mercies and Miseries. We have both seen and felt the Tyranny of Popery, the Wildness of Enthusiasm, and the Wantonness of Licentiousness: And we now feel the Blessings of a sober Religion and a free Government. We have indeed so long felt them, that we seem to be growing weary of them. But let us neither become so ungrateful to our God nor unkind to ourselves. Let us take care to shew ourselves worthy of Liberty, by shewing that we know how to use it, and that we understand the difference between that and Licentiousness. Let us remember, that there is one thing, and but one thing, worse than absolute Power, and that is an unbridled Licentiousness. Let not us be
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fond of those Republican Schemes, which, under the Pretext of Liberty, introduced the heaviest Tyranny, which this Nation ever groaned under. Let not us be for exchanging That, which we have proved by a long experience to be good and useful, for That which a very short experience made the whole Nation weary of. Let us beware how we spread such Notions among the People, as will lessen that respect to Publick Authority, without which, not only those who govern, but those who are to be governed also, cannot be safe.

Whoever looks back, must see, that one great Step towards all the Confusion which happened afterwards was, that the Attention of the Common People had been drawn off from their own Business to the Publick Proceedings. And whoever looks about him now must see, that the same Thing again but too much prevails. Declamatory Papers are industriously put into all Hands: And, whatsoever the Intention may be, the Effect must be very bad. While the lower People are taken up with these things, they must be taken off from their Labour. And when by their Idleness they have helped to bring Distresses upon themselves, they murmur at those who rule over them. *If. viii. 21.* They, as the *Israelites* did, — *curse their God and their King, and look upwards.* In the midst of Plenty they murmur at that Providence which sends it: in the midst of Security they murmur at that Government by means of which they enjoy it. Men without Morals are for framing a Religion of greater Perfection than the Christian: and Men without Wisdom enough to be able to govern themselves, are contriving new Schemes and inventing

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ing better Forms of Government for others; and they are eager for pulling down what is settled, in order to the setting up something, they know not even themselves what.

Religion at the same time is treated with as much Freedom and as little Decency, as Government or any other Subject whatsoever can be. And while this is so, what can be expected as to other things? When once People grow weary of their God, it is not to be imagined, that they will be likely long to remain faithful to their King, or just to one another. If any Man is really a Friend to his Country, he should take care to shew himself to be such by being a Friend to Religion too. Whatever tends to the removing out of Mens Minds all Principles of Religion, tends to the removing out of the World all Government and Order. Religion above all things conduces to secure Respect and Obedience to the Civil Magistrate. It will have a good influence both on those that govern, and those that obey. It will teach the former *to rule over Men in the Fear of God*: It will teach the latter *to obey not only for Wrath but for Conscience sake.*

Let us then first make ourselves good Christians, and that will make us good Subjects and good Neighbours. Let us plant in ourselves and promote in others all those Christian Virtues and Graces, which tend to the Peace and Prosperity of all Mankind. Let us extirpate those Vices and Passions, which render the World unhappy; which make Men uneasy in themselves and pernicious to others; which are the Misery of every private Person, and the Bane of publick Society.

To

To conclude : If either the Remembrance of past Blessings, or Prospect and Hopes of future ; if either the Memory of past Miseries, or Apprehensions of others to come, can have any effect upon us : If we have any love for our Country, any regard for our selves, or concern for our Posterity : Let every one of us, each in his proper Station, contribute his utmost to support and improve our happy Constitution both in Church and State. The Interest of the One depends on that of the Other : And the Interest both of Prince and People equally depends upon the Preservation of Each of Them.

F I N I S.

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